THE NEW REPUBLIC

Reprieve in the Congo?

If you take all the red herrings drawn across the path – including the pro-Lumumba riots in the halls of the UN by American "Black Moslems," the violent demonstrations in Lumumba's memory all around the world, Katanga President Moishe Tshombe's gloating, champagne-sipping interview, and the frustration-born recognition by Ghana, Guinea, and the UAR of the Gizenga regime as the "legitimate government" of the Congo – an unexpectedly promising vista opens up. This is not to say that full-scale civil war is certain to be avoided but only that a barely visible route which could lead to some kind of order in the Congo has miraculously appeared. Three separate African initiatives within 48 hours point the way – the resolution submitted to the Security Council by the UAR, Ceylon and Liberia on February 17, the Afro-Asian Congo Conciliation Commission's report, and President Nkrumah's seven-point letter to Secretary General Hammarskjold. Each directly contravenes Soviet UN Delegate Zorin's demand for withdrawal of the United Nations force from the Congo in one month. Each supports a stronger UN stance and the reorganization of the Congolese soldiery under UN auspices into a unified non-political force. None directly demands the ouster of the Kasavubu Government, and none even takes note of the Soviet proposal earlier in the week that the "Congolese people themselves" be allowed to "solve their own vital problems" and that the Soviet Union and "other states friendly to the Congo Republic" come forth to "render all possible assistance and support" directly to the forces of Antoine Gizenga. A reprieve for the Congo and the UN thus seems possible. Whatever comes of each of these initiatives, they have already helped to break down stereotypes in the Western press of the "pro-Soviet" (Continued on page 3)

February 27, 1961, 25 cei

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Two Power Systems

★ Kennedy made a big show last week of not being anti-business; the question is whether business is anti-Kennedy. We think in the nature of things business is against any activist reform Administration. Business fought Teddy Roosevelt who denounced bankers "with soft hands and hard hearts"; it was against Wilson, it was against FDR. Kennedy has been in office now only a month but the lobbyists of the National Association of Manufacturers and the US Chamber of Commerce are lining up against every major piece of social legislation he has proposed. They will probably fight most of his anti-recession bills, too.

This relation of business and government deserves to be explored. We heard Kennedy woo some 1,000 industrialists at a one-day gathering here of the National Industrial Conference Board, where he told them he wanted to cooperate, not fight, and offered a "full-fledged alliance."

Well, Kennedy is out to show he's not mad at anybody. He is fighting for popular support. But on the same day that he spoke before industrialists a principal spokesman for business – Arthur Motley, head of the US Chamber of Commerce and publisher of *Parade* magazine – addressed a business group in New York. He denounced "the Socialist jerks at Harvard who advised the President to make such [medical] aid a part of the Social Security program."

There is built-in antagonism in America between Big Business and Big Government. Veteran political scientist E. E. Schattschneider comments in his new book, *The Semi-Sovereign People* – "Business so dominates the nongovernmental world that it looks very much like a power system able to compete with the government itself. . . . As a matter of fact, the relations of government and business largely determine the character of the regime. Seen this way, the struggle for power is largely a confrontation of two major power systems, government and business."

"Big Government" is a term of reproach – a political epithet. Yet why is government "big"? For one thing – because conspirators like the electrical manufacturers would tie the nation in knots if left to their own devices. Big Business makes Big Government.

If there is to be a quarrel with business, Kennedy, we suppose, wants to make plain that he didn't start it. He arranged to have Lyndon Johnson, Dean Rusk, Hodges and Goldberg all address the industrialists here. But how can minds meet? After the lunch Charles White, ex-head of Republic Steel who presided, told reporters he was glad the President hadn't used the word "recession" because, he said, "there isn't any." That is just what Messrs. Dirksen, Halleck, Goldwater and Bridges keep saying. (There are 5.4 million unemployed, but so what?)

Our Warped Vocabulary

★ Lobby activities are conscientiously recorded periodically in the *Congressional Quarterly*. At present, it reports, the NAM and the US Chamber are mounting campaigns against school aid, minimum wage, housing, depressed areas relief and medical care bills.

Dr. Emerson Schmidt, the Chamber's top economist, testified before a Congressional committee that the Kennedy economic message would not "engender business confidence" and that more federal aid to the unemployed "may paralyze local effort."

NAM directors, meeting at Palm Springs, Calif., last week, demanded a slash in government spending and attacked any additional Federal expenditures to alleviate the recession.

You can understand Washington better, we think, if you see it as a clash between "two power systems." Acolytes of business have made "free enterprise," "private competition" and "local responsibility" holy words in America's secular religion. Bad words, in contrast, are "big government," "bureaucrats," and "public spending." These phrases aren't emotionally charged abroad. The tag "government ownership" doesn't wear horns in Canada or Mexico. In Europe "Christian Socialists" may not be your dish of tea but they are at least respectable. Only in America has business warped the vocabulary. Nothing is funnier than to hear an American and British family discuss hospital costs, the one using "socialized medicine" with horror, the other "national health insurance" with approval! They regard each other in wild dismay. How can such apparently sane and conventional people (each says) hold such outrageous beliefs?

Kennedy has been in office a month and nobody can say for sure whether he's melting the national mood or not – certainly there is no sign of a thaw in Congress. Congressmen will go home at Easter; they will react quickly enough after that if they find Kennedy has moved the folks back home.

Readers and Writers

★ The *Washington Post* ran a colored picture the other day of the President's cluttered desk and we noted a familiar cover on top. Sure enough, there it lay with some other periodicals, the unmistakable funereal black oblongs in the upper corners! In a recent piece about Kennedy, James MacGregor Burns had noted that his reading includes a "liberal journal." Red hot pincers couldn't drag the name from us.

A correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* here wants the Washington press corps investigated. As individuals, he says, they favored Kennedy over Nixon in the campaign. This is true; they did. They knew both men, probably better than any similar group in America. Personally they liked Kennedy. But that their views colored election coverage in the one-party press is silly. We offer one illustration. Every sensible observer in America knew Kennedy clobbered Nixon in the first TV debate. But we defy you to go back and read the discreet journalistic accounts the day after and find that stated. Most reporters leaned over backward to let the public make its own judgment.

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THE WEEK

1. *Reprieve in the Congo?; Before Spring Comes; Embarrassment in Bern; Freedom Academy; ICC Speed-Up; Boss Smith; Udalls of Arizona; The Atlantic Community; Censorship of Movies*

ARTICLES

9. *The Lamp Bulb Stranglehold by T. K. Quinn*

10. *The Birth of High Hopes by Jean Daniel*

11. *Soviet-American Relations by Walter Z. Laqueur*

14. *On Ambitious Politicians by Reinhold Niebuhr*

DEPARTMENTS

16. *Books* 21. *Movies*

22. *Correspondence*

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Reprieve in the Congo?

states of Africa's radical Left. The subtlety which has often been missed in news accounts is that it is the Soviets who have been aligning themselves with the more militant Africans – not the other way around.

In retaliating so massively in the wake of Lumumba's death and launching so violent an attack on both the UN as an institution and Mr. Hammarskjold personally, the Soviets may have gone too far. While the African leaders of more militant persuasion have, like the Soviet Union, encouraged the popular elevation of Lumumba as the first martyr of neo-colonialism, they have not gone wild. By ultra-nationalist standards, their statements have been restrained, and the Nkrumahs and Nassers seem cognizant of the frightening implications of setting African against African to avenge this death. President Kennedy's quiet reminder that the Big Powers do not need the United Nations for self-protection and that it is the small countries who have gained in stature and security as a result of its existence was given more than passing attention by the Africans.

After six exhausting weeks of ranging up and down the Congo, the members of the 11-nation Conciliation Committee now conclude that a one-sided solution is impossible. Despite the fact that only one of the commission's member states (Senegal) had voted for official recognition of President Kasavubu's delegation in the UN in November, the commission unanimously endorses the Kasavubu regime as the legitimate Congo Government, though recommending measures to broaden its base to include parties in opposition, to take the army out of politics, and to end all foreign intervention except the UN's. Within the UN hierarchy, too, a new line of compromise is discernible: replacement of the able but controversial Rajeshwar Dayal of India as principal UN representative in the Congo. (A likely candidate for the job, it is said, is Nigeria's level-headed, Dublin-educated Jaja Wachuku, head of the Conciliation Commission.) And even Mr. Kasavubu, who has been increasingly hysterical about the UN "intervention" in recent months, wired Mr. Hammarskjold reassurance of his support for the world organization. Earlier, in anticipation of expected demands from New York or Washington, Kasavubu announced (on February 9) that the regime of commissioners established by Major General Joseph Mobutu's military coup four months ago had been replaced by a provisional civilian government headed by Prime Minister Joseph Ileo, and that several cabinet posts would hopefully be left open for politicians from provinces which do not now recognize the central government.

US policy has also been undergoing some changes calculated to make a settlement easier. There is a new appreciation in Washington,

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manifest in Adlai Stevenson's address to the UN last Monday and somewhat more explicitly in behind-the-scenes talks with high level African and Asian leaders in New York, Washington and capitals around the world, that we must stop weighing every African personality and turn-of-events on a finely-calibrated cold war scale. For the first time, we appear to be convincing ourselves – and others – that we have no vested interest in the Congo except a reasonably just settlement that all of the African countries believe in sufficiently to help enforce. Thanks in part to the personal relationship between India's Prime Minister Nehru and Undersecretary of State Chester Bowles, India seems to be giving this more flexible US policy line the benefit of the doubt, and Nehru is, by his acceptance of its authenticity, helping to break down psychological barriers in Africa as well. President Nkrumah's seventh point – calling for the removal of all foreign embassies from the Congo until a strengthened Afro-Asian UN force can stabilize the country – is an astutely-devised test of US good faith. It is an open secret that the American Embassy in Leopoldville played an operational role in the consolidation of the Kasavubu regime that went somewhat beyond the normal limits of diplomacy. The fact that every other foreign embassy there – notably Ghana's – has also been meddling in Congolese internal politics does not detract from Nkrumah's cogent point.

Of course, it was not entirely altruistic considerations which impelled the radical states to take the initiative at this time in calling for a new start in the Congo under a tougher UN command. There were early indications that Antoine Gizenga, though a more able leader in many ways, apparently lacks the charisma to hold together the motley political followers of Patrice Lumumba. Already there is a scramble for power in the pro-Lumumba areas of the Eastern Congo, with a break evident between Gizenga and his chief lieutenant, Anicet Kashimura. Some crossing of lines to the Mobutu forces by lukewarm army elements has also been reported, of which the most significant is the still-unsubstantiated rumor that Lumumba's chief of staff, moderate General Victor Lundula, is in secret negotiation with Mobutu and may try to seize power from Gizenga.

With African support for its extremist position dwindling, the USSR too might be having second thoughts. Commenting upon President Kennedy's warning earlier in the week that the US would not stand idly by if the Soviet Union were to act on its threat to intervene unilaterally in the Congo, Hanson Baldwin noted in the *New York Times* on February 17 that this is the first potential limited war situation since World War II where the US clearly holds the military advantage. Unlike Laos or Korea, the Congo is a long way from the Soviet Union and any major intervention would require airlifting of troops and supplies over unaffiliated territory.

And finally, some practical plans are taking shape in UN Headquarters in Leopoldville for the reorganization of the Congolese Army and its offshoots – a common denominator of all non-Soviet proposals for the Congo. The preferred method would be by mutual agreement among the four major factions – President Kasavubu's 7,500 central government forces under General Mobutu; Gizenga's 7,000 rebels located in Orientale and Kivu provinces and in parts of Kasai and Northern Katanga; Albert Kalonji's 1,000-man army of Baluba troops in secessionist "South Kasai Mining State"; and Katanga's 5,000 troops, Belgian-officered, including several hundred well-paid white mercenaries. But since such voluntary cooperation with a UN reorganization plan seems highly unlikely, two other approaches are being studied. In the case of the Kasai and the central Congolese army, the UN could take over the role of paymaster, and thus be in a position to demand the surrender of weapons and cooperation with new training officers as the *quid pro quo* for weekly pay. But it is more likely that the now-scattered *Force Publique* will have to be reorganized into a nonpolitical army by sheer force. While such a project would require far more and differently-equipped troops than the bare 13,000 the UN has had in the Congo since the recent withdrawals by the UAR, Morocco, Guinea and Indonesia, the experts are now convinced that this pacification would not encounter major resistance outside Katanga province. The main requirement is a force necessary initially to move generally throughout the country, before the whole army disappears into the bush on the Malayan pattern.

Whether a broadly enough based Asian-African consensus can actually be forged in New York this week to enable the UN to take hold will depend in considerable part on how the Soviet Union responds to this abrupt new turn in African opinion, and how far the US is prepared to go in supporting Afro-Asian charges against Belgium, a NATO ally. India has posed the problem most directly to Washington – in effect, "Prove to us that you mean it about getting Belgium out of the Congo, and we'll see that the Russians are kept out, too." At least 40,000 Belgians are back in the Congo as military and political advisors, merchants, teachers, missionaries, technicians and soldiers-of-fortune, and their open objective is to become the new Congo's principal mentor. The Kennedy Administration knows that the only hope of rescuing the Congo from the brink of further disaster is by removing it from East-West competition and forging an Afro-Asian consensus to protect it. The equivocal policy pursued these past eight months since independence – of blasting the Belgians in private, talking softly in public, but trying to convince the Africans how tough we've been

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– has pleased no one. Painful as it may be, we are going to have to fish or cut bait – and publicly – about Belgian irresponsibility to the whole Western cause in the Congo. If we find the courage to say what must be said, we may also find lot more Europeans agreeing with us than we now imagine.

Before Spring Comes

Outcries greeted the Administration's emergency program for feed grains when it was sent up to the Senate and the House on the same day last week, with a letter from the President requesting that it should be enacted "by March 1." Spring waits for no man; farmers will soon begin to plow and plant. If they do so on anything resembling the scale of their corn operations last year, we are likely to run clean out of storage space in which to impound the surplus of it. A subsidiary of the Department of Agriculture now holds about $4 billion of feed grains in addition to over $3 billion of wheat.

The issues involved throw an interesting light on other facets of the farm situation. Years ago, before the price of wheat (now about $2 a bushel) rose twice as high as corn, it was used as a feed grain as well as for human consumption. Today, partly as a consequence of its disuse as a feedstuff, the accumulation of surplus wheat is much larger than the stockpile of corn. Plans for the disposal of wheat through an expanded Food for Peace Program are still regarded pessimistically by the trade. One of the most powerful wheat associations has therefore developed a three-price plan calculated to lower the price of some wheat to the level of the feed grains; thus a portion of it would be diverted as a feedstuff, to the cattle and poultry and egg producers.

What troubles this group is that it is much too late to control the present year's output of wheat because most of it was planted last fall and will be harvested next summer. The only thing they can ask the Congress to do for them now – never mind about 1962 – is to shunt some of this upcoming wheat into the nation's feed grain economy. And so, as they see it, the current debate over legislation on feed grains should be coupled with consideration for wheat.

The action President Kennedy and Secretary Freeman have asked for would reverse the feed grain policy enacted by the Eisenhower Administration in 1958. At that time support prices for corn and the other feed grains were sharply lowered while, simultaneously, acreage allotments or restrictions were abolished. Farmers were allowed to plant as much as they pleased on the theory that the reduced prices would in time induce them to control their own production. Voluntary contraction of output would force the price up. In the past two years, however, what those farmers volunteered to do was to plant more and still more. They sought to make a profit on the low support prices by expanding production to the utmost to cut their costs.

What the new program proposes to offer to farmers who grow corn and other feed grains is a higher support or guaranteed price, $1.20 instead of $1.06 a bushel, if they cut their acreage for that crop by 20 percent. Payment for the loss of this percentage of production would be at the rate of 60 percent of the gross value of a year's normal production on the diverted acres. A farmer who participates in the program may at his option forego another 20 percent of his normal feed grain acreage, for which he would be paid at the rate of 66⅔ percent of the value of the year's output on that proportion. The terms for cooperation are attractive.

Farmers who choose to stay out of the program would be able to plant as much as they pleased, in the old way, but this time there would be no supported price for them at all. They would have to take their chances in the market; and lest any should think that the restriction of feed grain output as a result of participation in the program by other farmers would have a tendency to drive market prices upward, and thus offer non-participants the opportunity to make a killing on quantity, the proposed legislation contains an interesting and surely most controversial clause. The Secretary of Agriculture "would be authorized to sell during the marketing year for the 1961 crop, at current market prices, as much grain as the successful management of this feed grain program requires . . . [this] would encourage producers to participate in the program rather than gamble on market prices."

Existing stocks of farm commodities held by the Commodity Credit Corporation of the Department of Agriculture are literally the result of past efforts to maintain prices for such crops. Any release of them at lower than market levels would, of course, drive prices down. This is a nightmare that has haunted the farm community and its friends in the Congress for years. Existing law on that point is stringent. It provides that no so-called surplus commodities shall be sold for less than 105 percent of the prevailing market price, plus handling expenses to the government. The proposal to suspend it, even for this emergency, has already set Congressional lions to roaring on Capitol Hill.

Embarrassment in Bern

Fourteen years ago a minor diplomatic stir occurred when word of the contemplated appointment of Lewis Douglas as our Ambassador at London got into the newspapers before the British Government had been approached for its concurrence – known in diplomatic practice as an *agrément*. The harm done was not lasting. The appointment was a welcome one to the British.

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Informal amends were made, and the incident passed.

The matter is worth recalling now only to make a point that what was so recently acknowledged as bad form in diplomatic practice seems to have become the usual thing with us. Probably no one planned it that way. The cause seems rather to lie in the bustle and newness of a new Administration.

The practice of getting another government's consent before appointing an envoy to it is not an idle point of diplomatic etiquette. It rests on sound practical considerations. An envoy must serve as a two-way channel of communication. His qualifications and usefulness are subject to determination by two governments. Some disqualifying characteristic may have escaped notice by the government planning the appointment. If so, it is better to have the matter dealt with quietly rather than have it become a source of public embarrassment to both governments. Hence, it is standard practice to make confidential approaches for an *agrément* before making and public announcement.

The hassle over the designation of Earl T. Smith, late of Havana, to serve at Bern illustrates the value of standard diplomatic practice in regard to *agréments*. Had the Kennedy Administration taken its time and followed the prescribed forms, it would have avoided a situation of double chagrin.

Freedom Academy

The advocates of elaboration are trying again. This time their formula for complicating matters is an old one warmed over – a scheme to establish a new governmental agency to which, in the words of Sen. Karl Mundt of South Dakota, one of the sponsors, will be "specifically delegated the responsibility for developing a systematic, integrated applied science of nonmilitary action appropriate for utilization by the United States and other free world nations in global struggle with the Communist world." It would have as an adjunct a federally-financed "Freedom Academy" to propound dogma to "a wide range of individuals including government personnel, teachers, trade unionists, businessmen, clergymen, association and organization representatives, as well as others."

The concept contained in the Mundt bill (having Congress step in by statute to ordain "total political warfare" – whatever the phrase means) has been kicking around the halls of government for a decade or more. It originated with various exiles from Communist tyrannies impatient with Americans' undogmatic approach to political matters and hopeful of creating opportunities for themselves in the policy apparatus. On the fact of it, one might suppose a scheme for duplicating or competing with existing departments and agencies (the State Department, USIA) would have small chance of acceptance. Last year, however, such a bill was favorably reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee and did pass the Senate, only later to be ignored in the House. Fortunately, this time the bill has been assigned to the Foreign Relations Committee, whose members may be expected to exercise more discriminating judgment.

ICC Speed-Up

An internal reorganization announced by the Interstate Commerce Commission last week promises to speed up the disposition of cases and tighten internal administration by increasing the authority of the Chairman. Effective March 1, the Commission's seven bureaus will report to him, rather than each to a different commissioner as in the past. The Chairman, Everett Hutchinson, named to the Commission by Mr. Eisenhower, will also be empowered to "initiate ways and means of correcting or preventing avoidable delays," instead of recommending proposals to his 10 associates.

This internal streamlining, followed broadly the recommendations of an outside management survey, should prove useful, but the greatest need for coordination is external – with the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Aviation Agency, the Maritime Board, and state regulatory bodies. Should the ICC, for instance, grant discontinuance of a passenger line, only to have the CAB then issue a certificate for a feeder airline to fly the same route on a public subsidy basis? Likewise, does it help very much to increase the Chairman's authority while leaving his selection to annual election by the 11-man Commission? Mr. Kennedy's "inspector-general" of the regulatory agencies, James M. Landis, may well consider whether Presidential appointment of the ICC head (for service at the President's pleasure) might not promote both more efficiency and stricter accountability, and inter-agency coordination as well.

Boss Smith

The Virginia gentleman who heads the House Rules Committee is having himself a ball. "Judge" Smith has dusted off a couple of old issues and put them down for hearings – one on national fuels policy, another permitting TV and radio coverage of House proceedings, because he knows that the TV idea in particular is anathema to the Speaker. But these are meant to tease. Mr. Smith has a more serious intention, which he shares with the Chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Mr. Cannon of Missouri, and that is to hold hearings on a resolution to deny the Executive any flexibility in the use of federal funds. For many years now, agencies have been able through "borrowing au-

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thority" to draw on the Treasury up to certain limits for specified, Congressionally-approved purposes. The reason for giving the Executive some free hand is that the future is not wholly predictable; opportunities and needs do not always correspond exactly to those anticipated in appropriation bills. As many as 20 federal agencies would be affected adversely if this flexibility were denied. But what can be done?

"Judge" Smith's committee is the only one in the House that defies the rule of the House that each standing committee have a regular meeting day; Rules has no rules of its own. But if eight members so decide, they can require that regular meeting days be established. They have the power also, if they use it, to determine which matters are set down for Rules hearings, and to deprive the Chairman, as he long ago should have been deprived, of the sole right to say what is to be considered and when.

Udalls of Arizona

An intriguing off-season Congressional race is shaping up in Arizona's second district, where the Republicans are expected to deploy some heavy artillery in an effort to replace Stewart Udall with a Goldwater Republican. The special primary election is set for March 7; the general, May 2. So it will be cherry blossom time before the new Congressman is chosen.

Nationally, the GOP has long coveted the seat held since 1955 by liberal Stewart Udall, who resigned last month to become Secretary of the Interior. But there are special reasons why Udall's district is an active battleground now. Paramount is the narrowness of the Kennedy strength in the House of Representatives, as demonstrated in the recent 217-to-212 Rayburn victory in the Rules Committee fight. The Arizona returns may also give an early indication of the electorate's reaction to Kennedy's first weeks in the White House. In November, Nixon carried the state with 221,241 votes to Kennedy's 176,781, while Udall bested his Goldwater-coached opponent, fellow-Mormon Mac C. Matheson ("free enterprise . . . self-reliance . . . individual responsibility"), 95,512 to 75,811. Finally, the Republican big guns, certainly Barry Goldwater and perhaps even Nixon, won't be busy with politicking elsewhere.

So far, seven Democrats and two Republicans have announced. The Secretary's younger (38) brother, Morris K. Udall, a prominent Tucson attorney, is regarded as the most likely to win the Democratic primary. Matheson, a former radio station executive and part-owner of two canned music firms, is sure to be the Republican nominee. Morris Udall's campaign is already in motion. Businessmen view him as "less radical than Stewart," but Morris shows every sign of following in his elder brother's progressive footsteps. Matheson's sole opponent is the youngest in the field, 27-year-old Albert P. Flewelling, a pre-law student at the University of Arizona. In his opening statement, Flewelling observed sagely: "Matheson is against liberalism. My reaction is, 'So what?' You can't just be against things."

The Atlantic Community

The Kennedy Administration quietly demonstrated its Fabian ways in presenting to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee its case for US membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The presentation was distinguished by precision in telling the American people just where they now stand in the world, though there was less than full candor in reassurances given that no infringement of our national sovereignty is imminent or desired. To describe the OECD as an Atlantic economic partnership is to describe what it should be, but not what the White House feels it can now claim it will be. The Administration's circumspect awareness of its environment showed in its quick reaction to stirrings in the protectionist lobby: the flat public statement by Dean Rusk before the hearings even started that OECD would have nothing to do with tariff making, and background comment making the same point. Thus the tribal gods were propitiated.

Immediately after World War II, national economies in Europe were interdependent, but as a body, dependent on the United States rather than interdependent with it. Today, as Undersecretary of State George Ball told the committee, "The positions of relative economic strength . . . have radically changed." The United States is no longer "the single dominant economic power." It is still "the pre-eminent giant," but among other giants. Our effect on Europe has lessened, theirs on us has tightened. The role of disparate interest rates in the US payments deficit is an example. Reason suggests harmonious policy; the logical next step is an instrument for harmonizing; therefore OECD. Further, even the pre-eminent giant can't carry the burden of developing "a revolutionary world" – Mr. Dillon's phrase. To take up their share, our partners will have to make various domestic economic adjustments; and so will the United States.

That at least has been the premise of our government in its talks with the West Germans. And judging from statements last week by the President and the West German Foreign Minister, Herr von Brentano, Bonn too is now prepared to accept this premise, agreeing not only to increase substantially its contribution to development funds but to do so in part through budgetary allotments, thus giving foreign aid the sanction and continuity of West German national policy.

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Censorship of Movies

Chicago, like some other cities and states, censors all movies before permitting them to be publicly shown. The distributor of *Don Juan*, however, flatly refused to submit his picture for examination by the city's censor, and the Supreme Court late last month held that he must do so and that he may not exhibit the film without doing so, even though nobody claimed that it was obscene or subversive or any other such horrid thing. The case dealt "only with motion pictures," said Justice Clark, though Chief Justice Warren, in a dissent joined by Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan, raised the alarm that the majority opinion may be construed to approve licensing schemes not only for movies but also for newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television "and every other medium of expression."

As it concerns the movies, the majority's decision is to be understood against the background of a series of earlier decisions, starting in 1952, in which the Court struck down censors' orders forbidding the showing of Rosselini's *The Miracle*, and most recently *Lady Chatterly's Lover*. The grounds on which the censors had rested their bans in these cases were that the pictures were "sacrilegious," "prejudicial to the best interests of the people," "immoral" or "harmful." The exhibitors had submitted the films to the censors, had been denied the required license on one of these grounds and had gone to court. In the end, the exhibitors won.

"I Enjoyed Censoring the Movie So Much, One of These Days I'd Like to Censor the Book"

On the basis of what can be surmised to be the "innocence" of the *Don Juan* film, it can safely be stated that had its exhibitor submitted it for examination, he would have obtained a license to show it. He did not do that because he wanted to test his right to be free of the requirement altogether. He claimed no "innocence" for his film, indeed he failed to characterize it at all in his pleadings. He elected rather to test a constitutional right to exhibit *any* film without prior examination, even if, in Justice Clark's words, it contains "the basest type of pornography, or incitement to riot, or forceful overthrow of orderly government." This precisely is the right, and the sole right, that the majority of the Court denied.

Stated this way, the holding is less shocking than might at first have appeared. But it remains objectionable. It is difficult to see why the state should be empowered to arrest a film, so to speak, even for a day, without first making out probable cause – substantiated grounds for suspecting – that the film may ultimately be found to be pornographic or what-have-you, and that its release may therefore ultimately be forbidden without offense to constitutional guarantees of free speech. The state cannot ordinarily arrest an individual, or search his papers or effects, without first making out probable cause that he has committed an illegal act, and it ought to have no greater power over the product of an individual's mind, which a motion picture may sometimes turn out to be. A strong and ancient tradition of our law abhors prior restraints.

It is a commonplace that we enjoy much of the freedom said to be guaranteed us by the Constitution because nobody questions it. For when finally questioned, it must be vindicated by judges, and judges do not have enough power to guarantee all the freedom that in fact we enjoy. Hence it is one of the functions of the Court to avoid or to postpone many questions that are better not asked. In this case, not only need there have been no Supreme Court opinion, and not only should any validation of prior restraints have been tempered by a requirement that the censor show probable cause before enforcing his authority to examine, but – passing all that – one was entitled to hope for an opinion much more grudging in tone toward the censor than Justice Clark's. Judges may not have enough power to guarantee all our freedoms, but they have a grand and unique capacity to teach us ourselves to fight for their enjoyment. What Justice Clark produced instead was a bland document that treats censorship not as, at best, a necessary evil but as a normal function of government. That is not a tone befitting the guardians of the Bill of Rights. The Supreme Court should have deprecated in the rhetoric what it felt constrained to permit in the result.

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The Lamp Bulb Stranglehold

General Electric executives now languishing in jail for their price collusion crimes in the sale of electrical machinery, owe their education in these illegalities, whether or not they know it, to the Company's long continued monopolistic practices in the electric incandescent lamp industry. From the start, freedom of enterprise in manufacture and sale has been restricted by General Electric. Its position today is formidable, like that of other monster-big enterprises, because of the forceable exclusion of other companies over half a century. Today, it would take many millions of capital, not available to new concerns, to develop new know-how and build and equip factories to move successfully into the tightly-controlled electric lamp business.

Competitive efforts have always been hampered and stifled, competition itself rejected as a constructive force. Any representations to the contrary are simply not true. The effect and purpose have been to keep prices and profits high and investment down. Under these conditions, there have been no major innovations or scientific advances for more than 30 years.

However, the lamp profits to General Electric, hidden in its over-all figures, have been enormous, even when loaded with extraneous overhead. There have been bad times, notably during the Thirties, when the lamp profits carried the whole Company, although the lamp sales volume was only about 10 percent of the GE total. In fact, lamp profits not only made up for losses in other departments but actually provided an excess that permitted the Company to continue its record of steady dividends throughout the deep depression years. There is no other household, commercial or industrial necessity that has extorted such excessive profits over so long a period for any private interest.

A Federal Court decision in 1911 held that General Electric and a group of associated companies had violated the Sherman Antitrust Act. After this decision GE's control rested on a patent purchased from two Viennese scientists for $400,000 and upon the Coolidge and Langmuir developments. General Electric thereupon proceeded under cross-licensing agreements to fix prices and divide markets in this country and around the world. The last written agreement of record, with Westinghouse, dated January, 1927, exchanged non-exclusive licenses on all present and future patents covering lamps and machinery, appliances and processes for the manufacture of electric lamps. Open control was continued until recently, when the patents were finally declared invalid by the US Supreme Court.

The electric lamp bulb monopoly continues effectively to this day because of its head start and lengthened period of protection during which competitors were excluded. They were frightened, bought off or beaten in lower court lawsuits which they did not have the money to carry to higher courts.

Today, General Electric still has about 60 percent of the lamp bulb business of the country, Westinghouse about 20 percent, Hygrade about 12 percent and the remaining 8 percent of the business is done by a few small concerns. Prices remain substantially uniform – regulated reportedly, by methods like those used in the sale of electrical machinery for which seven executives were jailed and fined, 37 were fined, and 40 companies were fined – a grand total of close to $2 million.

When the TVA authorities protested the high prices on turbines quoted by GE and Westinghouse in 1959, and showed that even if labor costs were excluded entirely, the uniform prices were still higher than for the competing British product, GE lowered its prices but promptly increased the prices of electric lamps. Lamps are bought, for the most part, in small quantities where increases are measured in pennies and markets are scattered. The increases, however, may amount to exorbitant percentage increases. For want of exact but concealed data, we may estimate the take of industry at a quarter of a billion or more in annual sales.

At a Congressional hearing in 1949, Chairman Celler of the House Antitrust Committee noted that 16 cases had been instituted against General Electric under the antitrust laws from 1911 to 1947. In addition, eight proceedings were started against the Company by the Federal Trade Commission. A number have been filed since 1947. Mr. Celler wondered why the Company could not operate under these laws, if they believed in them. Mr. Charles E. Wilson, then President of GE, spoke testily of his intimate knowledge of the Company and its people. He testified (not under oath): "We all detest illegal monopolies. . . . It is my belief that the antitrust laws were designed to protect against monopoly or illegal conspiracy, while at the same time protecting – indeed encouraging – the growth and adaptation that comes from competition." This testimony, along with a since-proven wholly unwarranted attack on a previous witness, fell heavily on those who knew that GE then had and still has substantial control of the electric light bulb industry. It struck another harsh note at the Philadelphia price collusion hearings where it was disclosed that the practices which brought jail sentences and fines reached far back into Mr. Wilson's term of office as President of General Electric.

Federal District Judge Ganey's statement in the Philadelphia case that "one would be naïve indeed to

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believe that such a vast conspiracy was not known to those in charge," is of course exactly right. He was convinced that in the majority of defendant cases, they were "torn between conscience and an approved corporate policy, with the rewarding objectives of promotion, comfortable security and large salaries – in short the organization or company man, the conformist. . . ." Still, the Judge did not penalize either Mr. R. J. Cordiner, the incumbent chairman who is also Chairman of the Business Advisory Council to the Department of Commerce, or Charles E. Wilson, his predecessor.

Beyond the extortion, collusion and crime there is the moral effect on the country. The cream of our youth aspires to executive positions in Big Business, positions which they now know to be occupied by men who must be fined and sent to jail. The hypocrisy of our business community has been shown and the end is not yet. We are left with the transparent mystery of why prices continue so uniform in the electric lamp, steel, drug, cement, roofing material and other industries.

T. K. QUINN

T. K. QUINN *resigned at the age of 43 as a Vice President of General Electric, "because," in his words, "of just such practices as those disclosed in the Philadelphia price collusion case."*

WHEN WILL WE HAVE *OUR* KENNEDY?

The Birth of High Hopes

Paris

This morning I met an Ambassador of France to an African country. He said to me: "It's unbelievable how quickly things can change! Since President Kennedy's speech, the West suddenly seems to have a new chance in the world." The Ambassador, who for the past 10 years has held extremely important overseas posts, recited to me a number of sentences from the State of the Union message, stating at the same time that this was the first time he had ever remembered word for word any passages from the political speech of a foreign statesman. "Oh, of course I know well," he added, "that speeches are written by brain-trusts or speech-writers in the USA; nonetheless, one speech had to be chosen from among several; some re-thinking of the material prepared by collaborators has to be done; and positions taken have to be accepted or rejected. Kennedy's debut will mark a milestone in the efforts of the West to survive and, perhaps, to save itself."

This represents, without a doubt, only one of the thousand indications bearing witness to the birth of high hopes. It had become so customary to speak of the United States and the West in the past tense; to foresee that downfall would follow soon on the heels of decline; to despair of any efforts to, at long last, make an adjustment to the realities of the modern world (a world characterized on the one hand by nuclear energy and interplanetary travel, and the other by the underdeveloped masses); in a word, a mood of bitter resignation had become so ingrained, that the appearance of hope produced a reaction, the intensity of which is probably not entirely realized at the White House. As always, this hope is contagious: young people all over Europe are now asking when they will have *their* Kennedy!

In France, the reaction has been intense but complex. The dynamism of the opposition always arises from a lack of power, which acts as spark-plug. However, in France de Gaulle is the power – that is, a sort of international institution in human form, a phenomenon both fascinating and anachronistic, a "hero" in the old Carlyle-ian sense, who paralyzes all energies by the weight of his presence. De Gaulle is not Eisenhower, even though certain aspects of his policies are marked by the teachings and the heritage of John Foster Dulles. Opposition to de Gaulle is, therefore, not simple. And this is why the greater number of the French people would rather bring pressure to bear on de Gaulle and influence his policies, than oppose him directly.

In this frame of mind, the forces of progress are hoping that rivalry with Kennedy be, in Europe, in terms rather of seeking to outdistance him in the direction he seems to want to go, than in terms of resisting him. If Mr. Macmillan, jealously desirous of preserving his role of conciliator between the two great ones, wishes to go still further in relations with China, why, so much the better. But if de Gaulle, who only a few weeks ago still wore the mantle of the uncontested chief of the Western world, were to oppose President Kennedy's proposals, then the West would once more witness the crises of yesteryear, and the President of the French Republic would see his star sink in France.

JEAN DANIEL

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Soviet-American Relations

What Now Are the Negotiable Items?

by Walter Z. Laqueur

"The new US President has the opportunity of re-establishing the atmosphere in Soviet-American relations which prevailed in the days of President Roosevelt. It remains to be seen whether he will avail himself of it." These observations of a Soviet editor are fairly typical of the general tenor of comment emanating from Moscow these days. True enough, there has been the usual profound class analysis of the new Administration; Rockefeller, Ford and Mellon are said to be well represented in the Cabinet, but the West Coast monopoly capitalists are said to have been discriminated against. The Soviet press has resented some of President Kennedy's references to Eastern Europe as well as the emphasis he put on strengthening America's defenses. The statement of the 81 Communist Parties last December describing "US imperialism as the world's biggest exploiter, the main bulwark of world reaction and present-day colonialism, the international gendarme and enemy of all the peoples" has not been forgotten by the propagandists; but to balance this there have been friendly overtures, not all of which presumably have yet been made public. The Soviet press has given ample space to the first official statements of President Kennedy; the appearance of Linus Pauling and of C. Wright Mills *(Listen Yankee)* in its columns is not perhaps surprising, but Dean Rusk's *Foreign Affairs* article has appeared too, and so have Joseph Alsop and others not normally to be found in these unfamiliar surroundings. *Za Rubezhom*, a new Soviet monthly digest presenting selected items from the Western press, carried a cartoon from the *Christian Science Monitor:* "Lincoln, Jefferson and Franklin Roosevelt face the new President: You want to be in the same league? Well, it's up to you. . . ."

These, and some other auspicious signs, tend to create the impression that Moscow is quite willing to give the new President and his Administration the benefit of the doubt – until further notice. Nevertheless, there is a distinct possibility that a striking improvement in Soviet-American relations may be followed by an equally spectacular deterioration and a more serious crisis in world affairs than any that has threatened world peace since the end of World War II. The current professions of goodwill are meaningless unless they are accompanied by some evidence to substantiate them, and the precipitous Soviet assault on Dag Hammarskjold following the Lumumba assassination, to cite the first of what may prove seemingly interminable contradictions, hardly lent substance to Soviet professions.

It is perfectly true, as Walter Lippmann recently said, that while in the domestic field the Kennedy Administration is able to draw upon a mature body of doctrine, it has no comparable fund of ideas for shaping American foreign policy. And even if there were an up-to-date body of doctrine with which to interpret the new world situation, Washington's freedom of maneuver is restricted, for the future of American-Soviet relations depends at least as much on Soviet expectations and attitudes.

Of the various schools of thought, some can safely be excluded from serious discussion. Much has changed in Russia during the last seven or eight years; to equate Stalin's Russia with Khrushchev's, to ignore the Sino-Soviet conflict, or the Soviet willingness to agree on some sort of nuclear control, is both mistaken and politically dangerous. It is equally foolish to assume that ideology counts for nothing today in the Soviet Union, that all the official statements about the coming global victory of Communism can be safely disregarded, that the Cold War could be ended in a glow of goodwill generated by prolonged summitry. Any realistic Western policy *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union must be based on the assumption that Moscow wants peaceful coexistence, *i.e.* intensified political, economic and ideological conflict, short of armed conflict, but up to and including local "wars of national liberation."

Unfortunately, no such assumptions concerning peaceful coexistence can be made with regard to China for many years to come. The Chinese leaders suffer (as Stalin did in his later years) from what one school of psychologists call a "parataxic distortion"; they interpret and meet current situations almost entirely in terms of past ones, and are unable to understand what is novel in each new situation. They think of the "im-

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perialist paper tigers" in terms of the fight against Chiang Kai-shek. The full implications of nuclear war have not yet dawned upon men who still live in the glorious memories of the Fourth and Eighth Route Armies of 30 years ago. These are not arguments against the admission of China to the UN, but they should lead us not to expect any significant change in Chinese attitudes as a result of being admitted.

The Soviet approach to a Democratic Administration is of necessity ambivalent. They expect less brinkmanship. But in some respects a government pursuing a left-of-center policy is regarded as a much more resilient and dangerous foe than a right-wing conservative rival. According to Khrushchev (in his speech on January 6th), America under the Republicans entered a phase of growing difficulties and crises – the "twilight phase," as he put it. He stressed the general state of stagnation and the "inability of the American monopoly capitalists to utilize the available productive forces." What if this trend is reversed? What if a more sensible policy in Asia, Africa and Latin America should lead to a recovery of lost American prestige in these parts? The Kennedy response on February 15 to the abuse of Hammarskjold was notable for the care with which it avoided conditioning all of the East-West relationship, in a brinkmanlike manner, on the Congo outcome, and for its support of the "broadening" of the Kasavubu regime (as Walter Lippmann speculated, the Lumumba murder itself may have been "perpetrated when it began to appear that the Western powers were agreed on proposals for the pacification of the Congo, including the release of Lumumba"). It would not take Khrushchev long to realize that a dynamic progressive American Government poses more serious problems for Moscow than its predecessor.

Avoiding Local Wars

The reference to the Roosevelt period as the golden age of American-Soviet relations does not really make sense; the Communist attitude toward FDR prior to 1941 was not as enthusiastic as all that, as can easily be seen from a study of recent Soviet books on American history. The wartime alliance was based on a very obvious common interest; the struggle against a common enemy. At present no such overriding common enemy exists. Both sides want to prevent a third world war, a danger admittedly more terrible even than Hitler. But it is not a positive factor; it merely circumscribes, in the best case, the limits of conflict, it does not help to resolve it. It is far too early, of course, to talk about a common American-Soviet interest *vis-à-vis* China. Only the extreme doctrinaires in both America and Russia deny that a Chinese challenge to Soviet leadership is bound to come; but this may be many years ahead. For the time being there seems to be a gentleman's agreement between Moscow and Peking to postpone the day of reckoning until the "imperialists have been decisively weakened." It is therefore difficult to understand Soviet references to a return to the Roosevelt era, unless they mean some specific agreement *à la* Teheran or Yalta. Such old-fashioned practices may have much to recommend them, but in present circumstances any such division of spheres of interests is utterly impossible; in the world of 1961 Moscow finds it difficult to control foreign Communists parties, much less such unpredictable characters as Castro or Nasser. The idea that a 50:50 or 90:10 division of influence in a Near Eastern country could work was somewhat fantastic in 1944-45; 15 years later it is not worth serious discussion.

If a global deal is out of the question, what specific agreements could be reached? With the exception of Berlin, there are at present no major areas of immediate conflict in Europe. Berlin is not vital for the Soviet bloc; it is the most vulnerable Western position in Europe and does not constitute the slightest threat for the East. It is probably not even a major issue for Ulbricht's East German regime which, even with a neutralized West Berlin, would still have to face the uphill task of competing with a bigger and more prosperous West Germany. The situation in Berlin is perhaps the least dangerous in comparison with the other main trouble spots; the Russians can put the heat on whenever they want to, and they can equally suddenly switch it off again; there is no real danger that the situation may get out of hand.

In Southeast Asia and the Middle East, in Africa and Latin America, many other factors, some of them quite unpredictable have to be considered. There, a crisis once started cannot be stopped at will. This applies, in particular, to Southeast Asia, as events in Laos have shown. Not only Soviet intentions, but also Chinese designs and the wishes of the local Communists have to be taken into account. It was all much simpler when there was one Comintern in Moscow; in the age of polycentric Communism even an absurd Albanian Party can create international complications.

In Africa there is a groundswell toward some new form of Afro-Communism; an ex-colonial International will probably emerge one of these days to play an independent part not only within the Communist camp but in world politics. The Sekou Tourès are all too willing to accept Soviet help, but they have made it quite clear that they can do without political or ideological guidance in their continent. Some people in Moscow regard this as a transitional phase on the way toward proletarian internationalism – they may well be mistaken. No such racial factors are in play in Latin America, but there, too, it is no foregone conclusion that a national revolutionary movement will turn Communist. Lastly, a Soviet-American collision in the

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Middle East is less likely now than it has been for some years past; the importance of the Middle East is steadily decreasing; it is unlikely to monopolize the headlines in the world's press as it did between 1945 and 1958. The value of its strategic bases has greatly diminished, its importance as an oil producer is much less than it used to be, and it has even lost its near-monopoly as the world's least stable area. Short of a civil war in Iran with outside interference, it is difficult to imagine a situation in the Middle East that would really constitute a danger to world peace.

Territorial agreements between Russia and America are highly unlikely, probably impossible, again with the possible exception of Berlin, where the West may retain its position after some more haggling in return for some concession *vis-à-vis* East Germany or elsewhere. What could be achieved, as in the case of Laos or the Congo, is an understanding precluding direct foreign interference in any local conflict. Moscow would be amenable to such an agreement; we have it on the authority of Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders (speaking to Russian audiences) that "local wars" may in present conditions quickly develop into thermonuclear and missile war. Any such understanding will require constant consultation between Soviet and American leaders on the very highest level, and some form of direct line between the White House and the Kremlin will have to be laid to make it work, but this should present no insurmountable obstacle to the engineers.

The only other issue – albeit the most important one – on which there is some hope of agreement is disarmament. Total and general disarmament is not in sight, but a ban on the development of new missiles now seems likely, since the Russians appear willing to make concessions on one of the central problems involved – the number of "on site" inspections to be permitted in the Soviet Union. This could be followed by an agreed reduction of the present level of armaments, which might assure 10, perhaps 20, years of uneasy peace, until the Maos and Nassers of this world have their bombs and missiles too.

There is little ground for optimism on most other issues, though no efforts should be spared. Western policy has of course to abstain from provocations; there is not much point nowadays in declarations about the liberation of Eastern Europe. All one can do is to express some cautious hope for a gradual development toward a freer society inside Russia and the other East European countries, without sharing the illusions of the Wright Mills' or Isaac Deutschers', who want us to believe that Russia already is, or soon will be, the freest country on earth. If Europe alone were concerned, it might be possible to reach an understanding that the propaganda war, if it has to go on, should in future be conducted on a somewhat more sophisticated level. But since the main prize in the current struggle for the world is not Europe but the uncommitted nations of Asia and Africa, any such expectations are certainly unrealistic.

The expansion of economic and cultural exchanges will undoubtedly figure prominently in any future American-Soviet talks. Moscow still attributes great importance to closer economic ties, which may have something to do with their belief, as good historical materialists, in the importance of the economic factor. But in practice they always act as if politics were much more important than economics; it would be difficult to find a single instance in which close economic ties have contributed toward a rapprochement with the Soviet Union – with the possible exception of Afghanistan, which, as a neighbor of Russia, could not in any case have afforded a different line. The economic factor in the contest for influence among the new nations of Asia and Africa is often exaggerated. If the Russians, for instance, have chosen to invest several hundred million dollars in a hopeless attempt to prop up the Egyptian economy, this should be no reason for panic or despair in Washington; political goodwill is hardly ever bought that way. All Soviet economic proposals should be carefully studied and all unnecessary restrictions on trade between the two countries should be discarded. But even if Soviet-American trade were doubled or trebled, this would make no significant contribution toward improving the relations between the two countries.

The Case for Cultural Exchange

The United States has everything to gain and nothing to lose from wider cultural exchanges, which should be carried out on a much larger scale than in the past. The ridiculous restrictions on the import of Soviet newspapers and books and the visits of Soviet tourists and delegations should be abolished; for the ordinary European tourist it is much easier today to obtain a Russian than an American visa. Unfortunately, it is to be feared that the Moscow authorities will keep cultural exchanges under strict control because they know that the West has to gain more from the freer traffic of ideas and closer contact between the citizens of the two camps. Many difficulties of a political and technical character arise in this connection, and it may be of interest to quote a recent statement by Mr. G. Zhukov (who is in charge of cultural exchanges in Moscow) published in the London *Observer*. He complained that Russia buys five times as many books and periodicals from England as England imports from Russia, that many more British films are shown in Moscow than vice versa, etc. He argued, in effect, that British periodicals and books are accessible to a much wider circle of Russians than the other way round. All this is perfectly

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true, and yet grossly misleading. Russian imports of East German books and periodicals are seven times as large as its exports to that country, but Mr. Zhukov is not known to have protested. The British *Journal of Civil Engineering* is accessible in Moscow and Leningrad to a great many people, but this makes a negligible contribution to world peace. On the other hand, no British journal of a political, literary, or general character can be bought or subscribed to in Moscow by a private individual, with the exception, of course, of the *Daily Worker*, whereas *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and dozens of other Soviet publications can be freely bought at many London newsstands. There are other difficulties, some political, some technical in character: Of the many hundred Soviet daily newspapers, only a handful can be subscribed to by foreigners, for reasons probably best known to Mr. Zhukov. Nor is it possible to order any Soviet book published more than six months previously; the largest Western sellers of Soviet books have just announced that in future they will not accept such orders, because past experience has been so discouraging. As for Soviet movies, the Soviet cinema has only very recently begun once more to produce films that appeal to Western audiences (or, I suspect, to any audience at all). Even so, the West should probably lean backwards and give the second-rate a chance too; a little boredom may be a cheap price to pay to keep these exchanges going.

I have dealt with the issue of cultural exchanges at some length in order to indicate some of the difficulties; there are many more, as any exchange student who has been to Moscow or Leningrad can testify. Important as these exchanges are, on a long-range view, Soviet-American relations will be put to their decisive test in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in this contest there is no hope for a truce. But if it plays its cards right, America has an enormous advantage of which so far it has never really made use. While Russia appears as the champion of neutralism in these parts, it has been American strategy until recently to bring these countries into all sorts of alliances of doubtful political and probably very little military value. But in reality the Communists regard this neutralism only as a form of transition toward closer ties with the Soviet bloc, whereas America has no real need to draw the neutrals into an alliance; for the West it is quite sufficient if the Asian and African neutrals stay independent and defend their own cause. Since the trend everywhere in Africa and Asia (even among the pro-Communist elements) is toward such neutralism and independence, Western policy would be basically more in line with their own aspirations than Soviet attempts to convince them that ultimately there can be no neutrality in the present world conflict.

Communism in 1961 means various things to various people; 40 years ago, when there was one center of control and guidance, everything was much less complicated. Today, with the growth of new Communist parties and a "Communist world system," of national liberation and national revolution movements, the divisive factors too have multiplied and they are growing stronger each year. There may be three or four centers of power within the Communist camp in the not-too-distant future, each following its own policy domestically and in foreign affairs, and there will be a struggle for power between them. A conservative America committed to defend the *status quo* in a world of change could admittedly not make much of these opportunities. Since American prestige and influence has decreased so much over the last years, it would be idle to pretend that a different leadership will be able to work wonders in a short time. But it should be able to stop the rot and to hold its own. With a little luck it may even do better than that.

On Ambitious Politicians

by Reinhold Niebuhr

The occasion was a Washington cocktail party after the Inauguration. The guests were predominantly journalists with a sprinkling of academics and government bureaucrats. The conversation and gossip revealed a remarkable unanimity in praise of the new President, compounded of enthusiasm for the intellectual caliber of the men he had appointed to the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet, approval for the new style of sober common sense with which he approached even the most complicated issues, and admiration for the chaste eloquence of his Inaugural address.

The unanimity of approval was remarkable, but not surprising. All at the party were Kennedy partisans after the convention and many were his adherents in primary battles. There were no regretful or resentful Nixon devotees. One wonders whether the defeated

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Vice President had more than a baker's dozen of admirers in the journalistic corps.

But some of the party reported that either they or their friends were originally critical of the drive, the ambition, which gained so young a man both nomination and election. Since victory was due to the social forces behind the winning candidates, to the shrewdness in salving the wounds of the defeated Southern portion of the party by the daring nomination to the Vice Presidency of the defeated opponent, to the superb organization of the party forces and probably the candidate's debating superiority before the television audience, the criticism of undue or obvious ambition must refer to the primary, rather than the electoral campaign. For every candidate must be self-propelled at the start.

The question raised by these criticisms of ambition of the questing candidate when they are correlated with the praise for the decisiveness and self-assurance of the victor, is whether it does not betray an inconsistent attitude toward the same traits of character before and after success.

What could be the cause of this inconsistency? Is it a unique bit of American moralism, or is it derived from some form of moral self-deception and illusion, not uniquely American? If it comes within the former category it may be due to the way in which we choose our candidates, as distinguished from European parliamentary systems. The latter do not require either a young or older candidate to proclaim too publicly his desire for eminence. The Prime Minister does not obviously seek his position. The gifted member of parliament works his way up, from sub-Cabinet to Cabinet rank. He is chosen as leader of his party by his peers, and becomes Prime Minister upon the victory of the party. In a doubtful case, as with the present British Prime Minister, he was chosen by the Queen over Mr. Butler on the advice of the two elder statesmen, Mr. Churchill and Lord Salisbury.

But we cannot make too much of this difference in the systems. Mr. Churchill's own experience refutes the theory. Mr. Churchill, it will be remembered, was resented in his youthful days as a brash and ambitious young man. This resentment in World War I expressed itself after the failure of the Gallipoli expedition, which he mounted but for the failure of which he was not responsible. His friend Lloyd George was forced to dismiss him from the Cabinet. The qualities of heart and mind which made him the successful leader and mouthpiece of a great nation in its hour of peril, and assured him a place of eminence, not only in the history of his nation but in the history of European civilization, were not all implied in the qualities of self-assurance which were originally resented; but none of them was incompatible with those qualities. The point is that ambition is a form of self assurance which is not incompatible with creative leadership, and certainly one of the components of successful statesmanship.

We are accustomed to regard the outstanding political hero of our own nation, Abraham Lincoln, as a selfless martyr and we forget that his partner William Herndon defined him as a very ambitious young politician. Both his political shrewdness and the spirit of magnanimity were not the fruit of his ambition. But they were significant by-products of the ennobling responsibilities which he bore, and of course of some native endowments of grace which cannot be predicted in anyone. Ambition did not produce the high order of political creativity. But it gained him the place of eminence in which that creativity could develop and could find full scope.

Perhaps the final cause of our ambivalence toward youthful ambition is a moral confusion about human motives. The ambition to gain a place of political eminence, or any other eminence, is never without motives of self-regard. But there is usually another motive of serving the larger good which the self-confident man feels capable of performing. The dynamics of selfhood are always in tension between the push of ambition and the pull of creative responsibilities. Without the latter, ambition may become purely self-regarding and self-defeating. But without ambition the creative pull of responsibility cannot take hold.

Modern psychiatry has done much to illumine the complex relation between ambition and creativity and so refute too simple moralistic notions of "selfishness" and "unselfishness," the one praiseworthy and the other evil. But some forms of Freudian thought confuse the issue by placing all the expansive impulses in the subconscious "Id" rather than in the ego, and by assuming that the impulse toward responsibility (the "pull" of creativity) is compelled by the community.

But all modern wisdom cannot completely eliminate the moral hazard for the politician derived from the fact that we, like he and all men, have both self-regarding and creative impulses. In most professions and vocations, we are not called upon to seek the office we desire. We therefore indulge in the fiction that we did not desire the eminence but merely accepted it as the inevitable fruit of our excellence in the relevant discipline. Politicians are both tougher and more honest than the rest of us.

If they are *not* more honest but suffer from ordinary self-deception, they are excoriated as self-righteous prigs. For most non-political observers are at the same time squeamish about ambition and cynical about the pretension of any person that he is merely devoted to a common cause and is free of ambition. In short our reactions to statesmen's motives, more publicly displayed than among ordinary citizens, is merely a sample of the confusion about our common human nature which we all share in some measure.

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Beyond the Balance of Terror

by Fred Greene

Herman Kahn's study opens with a bitter attack on the concept of "finite deterrence," with its set number of invulnerable weapons for a set number of cities and other strategic targets. Mr. Kahn argues that this policy turns prevention of war into a code of beliefs and provides no guidance for survival in case an accident or a calculated risk unleashes the bombs. Then, if the enemy hits first and we lack weapons in quantity equal to his (counterforce strength), we may be unable to destroy his strategic forces and so not dare to assault his cities, for fear he will attack again. Finite deterrence, he says, at best guarantees barbarous assaults on open cities, so characteristic of recent warfare. Since it makes little provision for civil defense, few will believe that we will endanger ourselves to help others, however solemn our commitments. Finally, with a limited number of weapons we cannot control the war's direction, limit its intensity, or set the all-important terms of peace.

On Thermonuclear War
by Herman Kahn
(Princeton; $8.50)

Kahn's escape from deterrence lies first in thorough preparation to cope with every threat posed by thermonuclear war. These range from adequate pre-war military strength and its coordinated use in a war, through such immediate post-attack problems as fallout, economic survival, and decontamination, to the longer range issues of recuperation and the genetic problem. His key argument elaborated in great detail, is that even the massive destruction of our largest 53 urban areas would leave us with an ability to recover rapidly (within ten years), provided that we protected our people and preserved a military force.

Secondly, he calls for greater flexibility in our preparations for thermonuclear warfare. In time of peace, this means a larger mobilization base so that we can adopt an adequate position in accordance with the time available in a crisis. Adequate research, development, and even procurement beyond immediate needs would enable us to avert blackmail and war. Equally important is flexibility in thermonuclear war, especially in war plans that are not rigidly committed to an all-or-nothing assault upon the enemy. This policy too requires great strength and meticulous preparation.

His third major proposal is for a Credible First Strike Capability, or very powerful attacking potential. It is now generally held that the responding country (second strike) would need a force stronger than the attacker's in order to survive the first blow. Yet Kahn believes that we might be unable to initiate strategic bombing, in response to a Soviet assault on a non-American target, unless we possessed a tremendous striking force capable of blunting a Russian counterblow. In other words, we are nowhere near an "overkill" capacity at present, since we must be able to knock out the enemy's strategic forces, a task far more difficult than destroying cities.

The development of adequate civil defense, flexible plans and mobilization bases, and a powerful first strike force, he concludes, will enable us to do more than cope with the problem of thermonuclear war. This formula will provide a secure basis for handling limited wars and for reaching an arms control agreement, which he deems mandatory for man's survival. He envisions an arrangement that would leave the major weapons in American and Russian hands in plentiful supply to insure national security, and yet allow for inspection and so provide security for all others.

On Thermonuclear War is the result of massive research and thought, rich in concrete illustrations and valuable speculation about the future. However [as Robert Paul Wolff wrote in *The New Republic* last week], it is open to question in its analysis of our present situation on many counts, four of which will be discussed here. Can we really protect ourselves? Can we obtain Credible First Strike Capacity in this missile age? Are the negotiations proposed too dissociated from world politics to be useful? What are the immediate practical effects of his thesis?

Mr. Kahn's argument – that we could go beyond the mere avoidance of war and still survive – rests on a civil-defense study whose optimistic conclusions may have been valid for the late 1950's but already appear dated. It presupposes an attack primarily by bombers, and explosives totalling 20,000 megatons (2000 bombs averaging 10 megatons). Staggering as these totals seem, they are far below what a superpower *can* and would attain if he planned to attack us. In casting doubts on the invulnerability of mobile missiles, Mr. Kahn himself assumes attacks of 100-megaton bursts. What would this do to recuperative rates, ability to limit thermonuclear attacks, or negotiate settlements? What effect will new Chemical-Bacteriological-Radiological weapons, now just over the horizon, have on our ability to check disease in crops, animals, or humans? Civil defense preparations may be more vital than ever, but they will not offer the hopeful outlet that Kahn seeks in case of disaster.

Mobile, invulnerable missiles play a great role in his post-1965 analysis, but Kahn seems to have been unprepared for their current rapid development. As a result he does not give them the consideration they deserve but seeks instead to downgrade their invulnerability, presumably because we see in Polaris and Minuteman a cure-all. Yet secure missiles present grave problems since, with enemy mis-

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siles safe, they must focus on cities – for blackmail or counter-threat. Again, civil defense and abundant missiles are vital, but as palliatives. We know that states must suffer tremendous destruction, for an angry combatant, perhaps American, can respond to an assault by continual or delayed firing from secret caches. How can blackmail pressure be checked save by the deterrent threat of unlimited war? And what happens to a credible first strike capability if, for example, we know Russia possesses invulnerable strategic forces and threatens to overrun Europe? Are we not then driven back to old-fashioned deterrence?

The author is also unjustly harsh with British advocates of finite deterrence, though they do assume too easily the preservation of a balance of terror. He superimposes an American perspective on an island state whose compactness, nearness to Russia, and relatively weak technology deny it the advantages his own system requires. Nor is he accurate in holding that finite deterrence has dominated American strategic thinking in recent years. Our Air Force gained pride of place during the 1950's, to develop a great kill capacity at the expense of other weapons. The development of a Russian counterforce and the evolution of missile technology may have eroded its power, but the people and Congress still favor massive striking forces. In all likelihood strategic missiles plus active air defense will continue to get highest priority.

His concentrated thermonuclear perspective at times gives the study an apolitical tinge. He judges most Soviet moves by their degree of "provocation" (*i.e.* the extent to which they may drive us to consider a nuclear response), or as testing actions short of war. Yet the Russians may be focusing on the immediate political objectives at hand, seeking to avert war or even tone down the thermonuclear threat. Each outlook requires a different preparation for and response to crisis and we cannot assume that strident provocation and threat lie behind each Russian move, nor cite Soviet classics selectively to prove our point. In fact, how long can Russia play at thermonuclear games when each successful industrial plan makes its cities more prosperous and more vulnerable? Their vaunted dispersal through Eurasia may soon turn all cities into isolated, distinct targets. What would become of Russia if its European or Chinese neighbors stay neutral during an American-Russian exchange?

Equally difficult to envisage are his related recommendations for NATO specialization and arms control. For us to devote ourselves to great weapons while Europe provides ground forces is to advocate a degree of specialization that would strain even a federation, let alone an alliance that is up for renewal in eight years. He calls upon the nations to yield some sovereignty but weakens his case by asking our allies to become utterly dependent upon us. His arms control amounts to a "US-SU" combine, with all others compelled to renounce modern weapons. This admirable solution for the super-powers rests on the assumption that all else must bend before the present bipolar power structure and technological danger. But the others, from prudent Briton to fanatic Chinese, object vigorously. To pin our hopes on an American-Russian co-dominion over arms makes the disarmament case appear hopeless.

Effective limited war forces, with minimum dependence on nuclear power, play an important role in the author's scheme to deal with moderate or limited crisis. Yet he believes that our strategic force must deter all major thrusts including many that are not directed against our homeland. However, if missiles do become invulnerable, a counterforce strategy geared to eliminate the enemy's strategic force will lack credibility, just as SAC did in the 1950's when it bore the dual burden of deterring total and limited wars. In addition, by the time we provide for an adequate strategic arm, passive and active defense, and space exploration, limited-war forces will sorely lack funds even in an expanded budget.

We may now have to recognize that "limited war" is a grossly inaccurate term for the projection of our forces over oceans, during a diplomatic crisis, in trying combat conditions, and under threat of global conflict. This, rather than the massing of strategic power was our greatest problem in the 1950's. Yet Kahn favors the withdrawal of our troops from abroad in time of peace, though to Europeans they prove the firmness of our commitment. He also labels as "dreams" any thoughts of projecting them abroad in a central war. His flexible war plans revolve around our thermonuclear forces. Yet the mobilization and deployment of conventional forces during a crisis but *prior to* an attack may deter war, or it may sustain our wartime negotiations and postwar settlements.

Finally, what effects, however unintentional, have the author's theses had upon doctrinal arguments within the Pentagon? The Air Force, like Kahn, measures Soviet policies and actions in terms of "degree of provocation." According to Mr. Hanson Baldwin, the Air Force is employing his argument in favor of a great destructive capacity in the struggle over the "finite budget dollar." It also cites his defense studies as proof that we can survive a major attack and, diverging sharply from Kahn's line of reasoning, goes on to argue that we should be more willing to consider involvement in a thermonuclear exchange.

Moreover, the Air Force acknowledges that the expense of attaining a first-strike posture would depress all other military capabilities and diminish their ability to protect our other interests. From here the argument can spiral, as did the SAC-oriented position of the 1950's, as follows: Our strategic power is great and is the source of our security and freedom. But even with a lead, we never have adequate strength and are at best potentially vulnerable at all times. Particularly worrisome are new Russian technological breakthroughs and the possibility of a Soviet first strike, especially if its strategic arm is less powerful than ours.

Next Week

Bertrand Russell

replies to Robert Tucker's "Reflections on Nuclear Pacifism"

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We can check the danger by constantly remaining alert, which may well alert the enemy. The new Russian posture of readiness, in turn, can lend credence to the fear of an attack and strengthen the hand of those who advocate a preemptive assault (a first strike but only because it is clear that the enemy plans to hit you), which in these circumstances becomes necessary and feasible.

The urge to launch a first strike could be contained in the past because we faced no real danger, but with our new vulnerability, it may reappear with greater urgency. It would be deplorable if the practical legacy of the Kahn thesis degenerated into arguments about how much offensive power we needed and whether we ought to use it. For this profound study of the strategic-survival issue raised by thermonuclear power deserves thorough analysis and discussion. As Kahn observes in his preface, this book concentrates on the central war and touches only lightly on cold war, alliance and limited war problems. To study everything from a thermonuclear perspective is a most valid and reasonable way of getting to the heart of a most difficult and terrifying subject. Unfortunately he then argues, in effect, that the pivotal central war issue should dominate all our policy decisions.

We are left with a brilliant study of how national and military policy can be applied to resolve our thermonuclear dilemma. We have still to determine how our national policy objectives can be furthered by such analyses of the thermonuclear revolution.

Loading the Media with Junk

by Edward P. Morgan

The trouble with this book is that the boys on Madison Avenue – those who read – will take it as an excuse if not a justification to continue their sins of loading the media with junk. The book, made possible by a grant from the Columbia Broadcasting System, is the third in a series on Foundations of Communications Research. One of the author's central conclusions is, properly, that we have been too quick to blame the media – whether comic books or blood-and-thunder TV serials – for juvenile delinquency, crimes of violence and other ills afflicting our society. Mass communication, he says, is only one of many factors influencing our behavior. True enough. But with that pronouncement can't you just picture advertising and broadcasting executives bolting from the courtroom waving self-interpreted verdicts of "not guilty"?

The Effects of Mass Communication
by Joseph T. Klapper
(Free Press; $5)

At his second news conference, President Kennedy gingerly worked his way out of a question on public morality by emphasizing there is little the federal government can do about the quality of movies and other means of entertainment, that this is largely a parental responsibility and one of personal training and taste. "An excellent answer. An excellent answer," breathed a network executive who was witnessing the proceedings on a White House guest card. But the TV man's relief at the implication that the new administration did not plan censorship or punitive legislation in this field did not seem to be accompanied by any sharpened sense of social responsibility on his part.

And I'm afraid Mr. Klapper isn't going to force him to sharpen it much either. With a maddeningly professorial lilt to his language that is likely to drive the layman out of his reach, the author observes that mass communication functions through a nexus of mediating factors which

> "... are such that they typically render mass communication a contributory agent, but not the sole cause, in a process of reinforcing the existing conditions. (Regardless of the conditions in question – be it the vote intentions of audience members, their tendency toward or away from delinquent behavior, or their general orientation toward life and its problems – and regardless of whether the effect in question be social or individual, the media are more likely to reinforce than to change.)"

Sociologists and pollsters who have studied people's voting and other habits and where their motivating opinions come from would probably widely agree with the Klapper conclusion that "personal influence appears to exercise a more crucial influence toward change than does mass communication when both such influences are present." But if media men take this as further license to minimize their responsibility, let them and the public ponder a brace of other points with vast and frightening potential:

1) "Mass communication is widely believed to be quite efficient in creating opinions among people who were not previously inclined one way or another on the issue in question."

2) The very publication of views, the mention of a man's name, the picture of a matron, in print or on the home screen, these confer a certain status on the issues, persons, organizations or movements involved and "the prestige of media transmission apparently acts, among other ways, to increase the persuasion potential of communications."

Then couple these findings with another: the vivid importance of the "audience image" of the source, or the apparent source – the dispenser – of information. "Audiences have been shown, for example, to respond particularly well to specific sources because they considered them of high prestige, highly credible, expert, trustworthy, ... or just plain likable."

This combination strikes me as a recipe for two quite different dishes. It can be used to cook up the most provocatively informative fare with

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Fred Greene *is on the political science faculty at Williams College.* Edward P. Morgan *is the distinguished news analyst, commentator and veteran broadcaster.* Paul Mattick *writes extensively on economic matters.*

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palatable responsibility or it can be the source of a cheap, highly-seasoned stew to satisfy the baser appetites. The information industry, I'm afraid, has vastly preferred the latter. As a result, with few exceptions, we have had the pear-shaped tone and the star-shaped head serving up news and opinion on television. The personality is more important than what he knows because the favorable audience image presumably makes it easier for the sponsor to attract a crowd and thus sell his explosive breakfast food.

Klapper didn't dig into advertising, including commercials – singing or otherwise – at all. This is a separate subject, but the author's mention of the fact that much of the vast research into its impact on the consuming public is privileged makes me all the more eager to find out what these trade secrets are doing to us and how. I don't quite see how any meaningful study of the mass media can be made without exploring the field of commercialization itself. In his decade-old but hardly dated book, *The Mature Mind*, Harry Overstreet says newspapers, broadcasting, movies and advertising are

> "... part of ... a money-making culture ... in which the prime value that attaches to most things produced is their *exchange value* – their salability ... Hence, the primary hunt conducted by each of these ... licensed mind-makers has been for a formula that would ensure most people's being attracted most of the time. Once the formula is set, there is more profit to be derived from people's *remaining as they are* than from their growing up to some new level of insight and discrimination."

My main complaint with Mr. Klapper's work is that, though it contains important facts, it is written in such a ponderously qualified way that it is not likely to inspire any of us, least of all the information industry, to move far upward from where we are.

The Future of Tropical Africa

by Paul Mattick

It is not surprising that the geographical sections of Kimble's authoritative, encyclopedic survey of the vast territory known as tropical Africa are also his best, since he is a geographer. The look of the land, the variety of its resources, the quality of its soils, its climate and vegetation are described with great care. The emerging picture helps explain why Africans behave as they do and why their struggle for existence is so extraordinarily difficult. Nature's inhospitableness did not allow for much development, and what development there was, grazing and cultivation, led, on their part, to man-made erosions and a still more inhospitable nature.

Tropical Africa
by George H. T. Kimble
(20th Century Fund; $15)

167 millions of Africans, about 700,000 Europeans and 400,000 Asians live within the 8.5 million square miles of tropical Africa. While large tracts of land are virtually empty, others are very crowded, but the low-density outnumber the high-density areas. At least half of the European population and about 75 percent of the Asian is urban as against 10 percent of the African population. Although there has been a trend away from agriculture, it will remain the dominant activity for a long time to come. Descriptions of land uses are followed by those of the woods, the waters and the mineral wealth.

While it is now rather common to accept responsibility for the development of underdeveloped areas, and while this new sense of responsibility is largely the price paid for a hundred years of irresponsibility, for Kimble the "white man's burden" has somehow always been a fact. The Africans themselves, he writes, "like all other colonial people, have come to accept the fact of interference. They have become accustomed to the exactions (mostly small) of the *commandant*, the ministrations (mostly welcome) of

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the mission teacher, pastor and doctor, and the pushing and shoving of the entrepreneur (mostly unavoidable)." If they now object to the white man's rule, they still appreciate many of his innovations.

In this they have little choice, even though many Africans still cling to the life of the past, to the old tribal ways and the miserable freedom of the African bush. While Africa's "slumber" was at first interrupted by frequent slave-raiding parties, the full awakening came with the continent's partioning between the European colonial powers. Development by way of exploitation brought with it the indigenuous social forces which now challenge the colonial powers. And because the region, as Kimble relates, "almost certainly has the world's largest untapped reservoir of natural resources, a dozen nations have already beaten a path to the African's door for the purpose of helping him develop these resources, in his interest as in their own." However slow, however great the difficulties, the industrialization and modernization of Africa appears a certainty.

It is this very development which accounts for the rising nationalism. Although colonial paternalism alleviated some of the miseries of ignorance, it brought with it miseries of even greater magnitude. The African's improved health increased his exploitability; the prolongation of his life lengthened his working time. By way of forced labor, taxation, and arbitrary rules, the colonialists subjected whole populations to a market economy without granting them even the status of a proletariat. The education provided was just enough to serve the special needs of the colonizers. While they taught the Africans more economical ways of agriculture, they also deprived them of part of their lands.

Kimble's positive appraisal of the civilizing work of the colonial powers rests on an artificial distinction between government and enterprise. Raising the low levels of African production and consumption, he says, "was found to exceed the financial resources of most of the colonial powers. Almost without exception, the cost of running African colonies proved greater than the revenues derived from taxation." It was for this reason "that the colonizing powers were generally only too willing to leave the initiative in economic affairs to such private companies and individuals as are able to put up the necessary capital and find the necessary manpower." What evil there was, he suggests, can be traced to the greed and brutality of individuals and private companies; it was not governmental policy. It was, however, the function of those governments to secure the conditions which made this private exploitation possible; and sometimes, as in the Belgian Congo, government and enterprise were one and the same.

Although Kimble realizes that "most peasants find some difficulty in seeing why crops which they have grown entirely by their own effort – as they view it – should be used to help keep European supervisor staff living in what to them is unbelievable luxury," nevertheless, he thinks that these peasants now understand and are grateful for the economic and social revolution initiated by the colonizers. And while the sums plowed back into the African economy "are much smaller than those which have been taken out of the region in the form of ores, concentrates and refined metals," the African leaders, Kimble assures us, "do not need to be told that the development of mineral wealth would have been impossible on any other basis (for, like Americans and Europeans, they appreciate the necessity of holding out to the investors the prospect of rewards commensurate with the risks)." They do not believe, however, that their people are getting enough for their mineral heritage, or for their labor, for that matter. In the Copperbelt, for instance, the wage difference between European and African labor for the same type of work is ten to one. It is the Africans' determination to change this state of affairs which is causing all the ferment.

Kimble sympathizes with their aspirations but is afraid that expectations exceed the possibility of realization. For him, the key to the industrial future of tropical Africa is not so much in the mines, the rivers, or the plantations, or even the rising purchasing power of a new middle class, "as in the fields and the grazing lands, and in what the millions of Africans who tend them make of them." They cannot expect much help from modern technology "for in Africa it seems easier to inflict a wound with a bulldozer than to heal one, and to start a dust storm with a multiple-disc plow than to stop it." The productivity of African agriculture can rise only slowly and is still so low "that it takes anywhere from two to ten people – men, women and children – to raise enough food to supply their needs and those of the additional non-food-producing adult." For a quicker development, capital must come from the outside; yet the investors' confidence in the future of Africa "is not generated by talk of expropriation and 'Africa for the Africans'."

In view of the prevailing situation, Kimble believes that the "people of tropical Africa will have to settle for something less than self-rule and riches." Freedom presupposes resources and while some of the newly independent African nations have these resources, others do not. Moreover, even though Kimble has the highest respect for the African's intelligence and learning capacity, he considers the ability to work in an industrial plant as one thing, and "the ability to operate the plant in competition with long-established firms in other parts of the world another thing." Although he agrees to a greater share for the African in the management of local, regional and territorial affairs and is not, on principle, opposed to complete political independence wherever feasible, he still thinks it best not to carry self-determination too far. At the same time, he complains that the "champions of self-government" do not practice what they preach in denying to others what they demand for themselves. True self-determination, in Kimbel's view, implies autonomy for the 600-odd different peoples in tropical Africa. Still, as all is still in flux, Kimble does not pretend to know what Africa will be like in the future. And whatever one may think about his conciliatory attitudes, their justification or possibilities, his work is a remarkable document and of the greatest value to anyone interested in Africa's problems.

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MOVIES

Suburbanites and Convicts

The Facts of Life (United Artists)
The Hoodlum Priest (United Artists)

Bob Hope has been around so long that, in a sense, he has been forgotten. He has become part of the scenery of the entertainment world rather than a scintillating figure in it. Obviously this is not to say that he has no public: no performer achieves that status without a large, faithful public. But no one ever *thinks* about Hope the way you might think about newcomers like Sahl and Sellers or even an old-timer like Groucho. Hope is just there: a fixture.

There is no reason for us to feel otherwise. He has three memorable characteristics, his leer, his fear, and his timing; and he hasn't, up to now, changed or grown through the years. To miss Hope's films for a decade and then see a new one is like stepping back into a ceaseless continuum. His career has been like one long film released in 90-minute instalments.

Only when the Hope script-carpenters outdo themselves and raise him to the height of his limited powers – give us Hope *in excelsis* – is he worth looking at. A few of the early *Road* pictures, with Bing Crosby, had a nice free-wheeling impertinence. And now Hope appears with Lucille Ball in an amusing film called *The Facts of Life*.

He and she are suburban Californians (or is that a tautology?) who are married but not to each other. They have disliked each other for years. Then they are in a party that goes on a trip to Acapulco, and by a series of accidents these two are left alone a lot. They are just the right fortyish age to fall in love, and do so.

The humor is plentiful and painful. All the discomforts of suburban adultery are exploited, as are the worse discomforts of a costly married person with his (her) life thrown out of balance by the sudden irruption of passion. Hollywood keeps a censorious eye on things to make sure, by comic misfortunes, that the Seventh Commandment is unfractured. All ends well – or at least, as was originally.

Miss Ball, next door to whom many of us wish we lived, is an expert comic actress who can travel from broad physical clowning to subtle verbal riposte without spilling a drop of that poignancy without which nothing is funny for long. Hope uses his little armory of skills better than he has done in years, and, he has filled in some of the gaps in his *persona* so that Miss Ball's infatuation seems quite credible.

There may be a clue here for Hope's future. Instead of working out boring abstract comic situations – films which are distended revue sketches – he might well become a farcical exponent of the troubles of the Organization Man, a kind of gray-flannel Grimaldi. His distinction from other comics has always been that he looks "normal"; this film shows that he can use that normality to truly comic advantage.

The Hoodlum Priest is a modest film with a virtue often lacking in American pictures: it is an utterance of conviction. If that makes it sound didactic, I hasten to add that it is a highly professional job, obscured by surprisingly few sentimentalities, and makes its points by holding and moving you, not by Sunday School parable.

Don Murray, the young actor first seen opposite Marilyn Monroe in *Bus Stop*, has co-produced and stars in this account of Father Charles Clark who works in St. Louis. Father Clark is a Jesuit whose figurative parish is the underworld; he has particular sympathies with criminals, is their confidant and companion, and has been in trouble with authorities because, outside the confessional, crooks have sometimes told him of their plans. His defense has been that if he informed on them, he would lose their trust and his chance to help them in the long run. Out of his work has come Dismas House, a "halfway house" for convicts who have been released from prison.

This film deals with a young ex-con whom Father Clark helps but whom a distrustful society drives back to crime; and who is then driven by his own panic to murder. There is a gas-chamber execution more horrible than in Susan Hayward's *I Want to Live* because here the prisoner is guilty. This is no miscarriage of justice; this *is* our justice.

Irvin Kershner has directed perceptively and dramatically, holding his actors tightly on the course, and achieving some good "Continental" neo-realistic effects. The screenplay by Don Deer and Joseph Landon is not free of clichés such as the romance between the rich girl and the young con, but it is generally incisive. (A sign-carrying demonstrator against capital punishment is picketing the governor's mansion, and a kindly policeman tells him he can't change the world. "I'm not trying to," replies the demonstrator. "I just want to keep the world from changing me.")

Keir Dullea, in spite of his movie prettiness, turns out to be very good indeed as the young con. His hysteria

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Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

when trapped and his near-paralysis in the death-house have the ring of truth and are better than sermons. Ungratefully, it must be noted that Murray himself is not quite up to his role. Except for one impassioned outburst before a judicial inquiry, he does little more than sympathetically indicate the outlines of his part.

Nevertheless he and his associates have made Father Clark's story a matter of interest to more than reformers and religionists. Despite its defects, this little film puts a hand on your shoulder and makes you turn and look.

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More Justice in California

Sirs:

We in California are privileged to witness yet another exciting chapter in the panorama of Crime and Punishment, which might be regarded as a sequel to the Chessman case. In 1947 a man named Erwin Walker killed a policeman and was sentenced to die in the gas chamber at San Quentin. Walker was kept on Death Row for two years and then, hours before his execution, he became hysterical. He was pronounced insane by a team of state psychiatrists and given a stay of execution. He has spent the 12 succeeding years in various hospitals for the criminally-insane. We are told that during the course of this $30,000 rehabilitation Walker was a model prisoner-inmate, responding well to psychotherapy and never once involved in a violent act. Doctors say that gradually Walker has become a different person and, finally, he is "sufficiently recovered to fully understand the nature of the legal process which was taken against him."

In short, Walker is back on Death Row. He is hoping for a commutation of sentence by Governor Brown, but let it be known that we in California are *very* efficient about such matters. We have electric can-openers and tail fins to match the finest Gothic spires; and we have a medieval judicial system.

Thomas L. Clark
Napa, California

"THE TRUTH WHICH *the Liberal historians and Realpolitiker pass over in silence is that Balkanization on a gigantic scale is being made ready for all Africa. The West, encouraged and spurred on by a cynical East, is creating stillborn 'nation states,' unable to provide for themselves and already torn by internal and ideological dissensions—'states' that dream of conquest even before they have developed a national identity.*"

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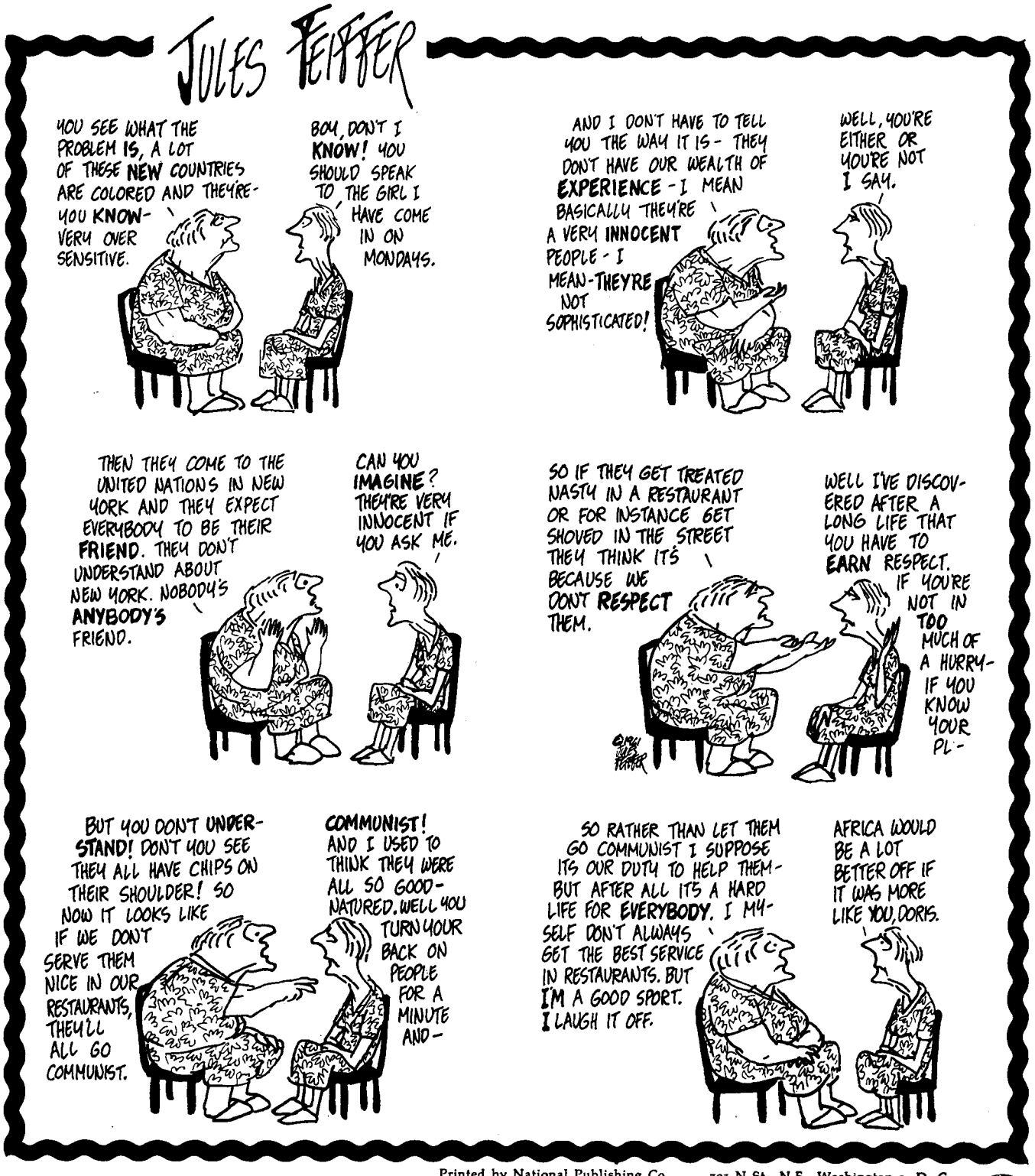
The Iron Curtain Famines

Sirs:

Roy D. Laird's informative *Kazakhstan, Khrushchev and Kennedy* (February 6) had a surprise ending for me. He illustrates the blow to Premier Khrushchev's prestige and the hopes for the new Seven Year Plan by the failure of the Kazakhstan experiment. He then suggests that reduced Soviet agricultural output will hamper much needed aid to famine-stricken China. He concludes that American aid to China will thereby be "the greatest opportunity . . . to strike a blow for peace." The immediate major tension in the world is not between the US and China. Certainly the Soviet people would be far more receptive to an offer of grain that the Chinese.

It seems far more realistic to "offer" where there is at least a trace of conciliation. Certainly China has demonstrated none of this, for which reason the President in news conference rejected the suggestion which Professor Laird tenders. *Timothy O. Blackburn*
New York, N. Y.


JULES FEIFFER
YOU SEE WHAT THE PROBLEM IS, A LOT OF THESE NEW COUNTRIES ARE COLORED AND THEY'RE- YOU KNOW- VERY OVER SENSITIVE.
BOY, DON'T I KNOW! YOU SHOULD SPEAK TO THE GIRL I HAVE COME IN ON MONDAYS.
AND I DON'T HAVE TO TELL YOU THE WAY IT IS- THEY DON'T HAVE OUR WEALTH OF EXPERIENCE - I MEAN BASICALLY THEY'RE A VERY INNOCENT PEOPLE - I MEAN- THEY'RE NOT SOPHISTICATED!
WELL, YOU'RE EITHER OR YOU'RE NOT I SAY.
THEN THEY COME TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK AND THEY EXPECT EVERYBODY TO BE THEIR FRIEND. THEY DON'T UNDERSTAND ABOUT NEW YORK. NOBODY'S ANYBODY'S FRIEND.
CAN YOU IMAGINE? THEY'RE VERY INNOCENT IF YOU ASK ME.
SO IF THEY GET TREATED NASTY IN A RESTAURANT OR FOR INSTANCE GET SHOVED IN THE STREET THEY THINK IT'S BECAUSE WE DON'T RESPECT THEM.
WELL I'VE DISCOVERED AFTER A LONG LIFE THAT YOU HAVE TO EARN RESPECT. IF YOU'RE NOT IN TOO MUCH OF A HURRY- IF YOU KNOW YOUR PL-
BUT YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND! DON'T YOU SEE THEY ALL HAVE CHIPS ON THEIR SHOULDER! SO NOW IT LOOKS LIKE IF WE DON'T SERVE THEM NICE IN OUR RESTAURANTS, THEY'LL ALL GO COMMUNIST.
COMMUNIST! AND I USED TO THINK THEY WERE ALL SO GOOD-NATURED. WELL YOU TURN YOUR BACK ON PEOPLE FOR A MINUTE AND-
SO RATHER THAN LET THEM GO COMMUNIST I SUPPOSE ITS OUR DUTY TO HELP THEM- BUT AFTER ALL IT'S A HARD LIFE FOR EVERYBODY. I MYSELF DON'T ALWAYS GET THE BEST SERVICE IN RESTAURANTS. BUT I'M A GOOD SPORT. I LAUGH IT OFF.
AFRICA WOULD BE A LOT BETTER OFF IF IT WAS MORE LIKE YOU, DORIS.

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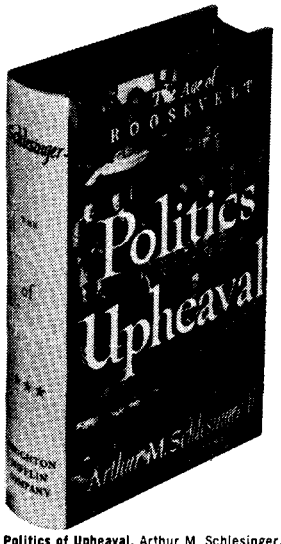

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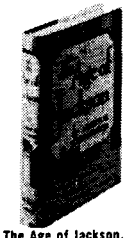

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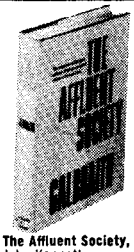

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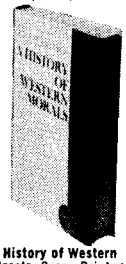

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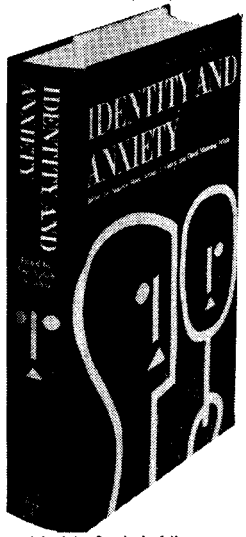

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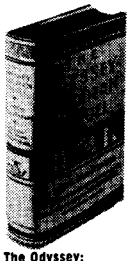

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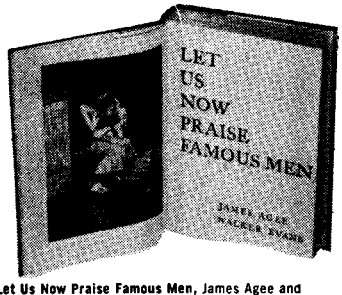

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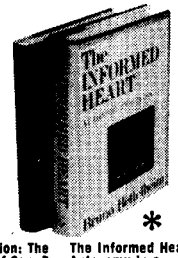

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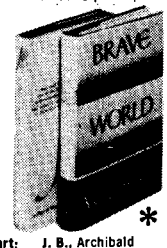

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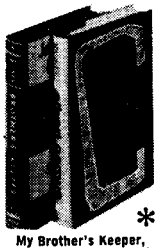

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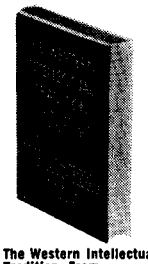

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